1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed 591 rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent with-882 in the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a [611] result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

591 But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of ●166 residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause. 157 With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were frequent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility even provided a way of avoiding the legal consequen- [696] ces of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

621 What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, ‡ for names recorded by Mooney, † for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 were not known by the particular informants questioned. One man felt that the white sage had a practical value, but did not know what it might be. Some of these plants have been recorded as used by tribes more or less in contact with the Comanche and may have been employed in a similar manner by the Comanche. The informant who pointed out the western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*) gave its name as *woanatsu*, but knew of no use for it. The ending *natsu* [757] indicates a medicinal plant, and it is interesting to note that this plant was prescribed by the Cheyenne in the treatment of colds, cramps in bowels, and bloody stools (9, p. 188), and that it was also valued by the Gosiute in the treatment of sore eyes (6, p. 49), but has a quite different name, without the *natsu* ending, in Gosiute.

221 The Comanche were formerly a very nomadic people, particularly
● 166 after their acquisition of the horse. Marcy and McClellan (15, pp.
824 94–95) describe them as following the buffalo from place to place and also tell of their horse- and cattle-stealing expeditions, which covered over a thousand miles and even took them into the northern provinces of Mexico, consuming two years or more at a time. Richardson (19) tells something of the migrations, movements, expeditions, and contacts of the Comanche. They appear to have been in at least occasional touch with Apache and Pueblo Indians of the Southwest and with Plains and Plateau tribes as far north as what is now the Canadian border. It seems reasonable that they should have been an important agency in the diffusion of plants and of knowledge of plant uses as well as of other culture traits. They controlled practically all the limited area in which the valuable *bois d'arc* or bowwood grew and from which it was traded to the Siouan, the Caddoan, and other tribes to the north, and to the Pueblos to the west. They doubtless also were instrumental in spreading the narcotic cults based on the peyote and mescal beans. La Barre (12, p. 43) considers the Kiowa and the Comanche to be the center of diffusion of peyote in the Plains. Both peyote and mescal beans were native to the southwestern region of Texas and in Mexico, but were diffused almost throughout the Plains and as far northeastward as the Great Lakes. Certainly the many similar plant uses of the Comanche and of other tribes of the Plains, the Plateau, and the Southwest indicate either Comanche contact with these various peoples or a very active dissemination of such traits throughout these areas.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
[166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source
648 of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their
657 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 18, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 324.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

but when they did it was readily given up.[26] But no agent, however tactful, could long avoid a clash with the frontiersmen on this point. They naturally gave little consideration to the rights of the Indians, expected the word of any white man to be accepted over the denial of any number of Indians, and misunderstandings and disputes over property soon arose. The agents all the while stoutly maintained that their Indians were innocent and, although we may have some doubts to their contentions, they were certainly sincere. Likewise the frontiersmen were just as sincere in laying much of their trouble to the wards of the agents and as affairs progressed each side became more determined and emphatic. When the citizens failed to find their stock at the reservation they concluded that the marauders had left the reservation, had stolen the horses from the settlements, and then had made their way to join their wild friends to the north; and the large number of desertions from the reservation evidenced by the census returns furnish considerable foundation for this point of view.

During the latter part of 1857, petitions signed by Texas citizens were sent to the Secretary of the Interior asking that Neighbors be removed from office. These persons alleged that the reserve Indians had been stealing horses all along although Neighbors kept denying it. They charged that at different times they had found their stolen horses on the reservation, that the superintendent had refused to give them up and that there was no means left for them whereby they could secure their property. Other complaints were made, one being that signed by twenty-seven men addressed to Agent Leeper informing him that they would not henceforth honor his passports to Indians but that they proposed to attack any and all Indians found off of the reservation except where they were accompanied by responsible white persons. Their reasons for this threat appears to have been the report they had received that certain Indians whom they had pursued had since made threats against them. Furthermore, they would have Leeper inform the Indians that if there should be "a man killed on this river and there is the least proof that it was done by the Indians from the reserve

26. On this mooted point see J. B. (Buck) Barry to Hawkins, November 2, 1853. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Barry, who in his Reminiscences (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives), bitterly assails the reservation Indians, said in this letter of 1853, that Major Neighbors treated him in a "clever and gentlemanly manner" in the matter of his efforts to recover stolen horses.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treachery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.

The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution established as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas. Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differentiation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the relatively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist. The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge concerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.